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JUSTICE BLACK IN STIRRING DISSENT

2 High Court rulings backtrack on Watkins and Nelson decisions

FACED WITH CURBS by Congress on its liberal trend of recent years, the Supreme Court on June 8, by 5-4 division, confirmed two pivotal contempt convictions on which it had previously cast doubt, and in so doing narrowed the application of three of its 1957 decisions affecting civil liberties. Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas and Brennan dissented from both rulings.

The contempt convictions affirmed were those against college teacher Lloyd Barenblatt—for refusing to discuss political associations with the House Un-American Activities Committee—and Dr. Willard Uphaus—for refusing to surrender the guest and speaker lists of his World Fellowship camp to the State of New Hampshire under a state anti-subversive measure.

WATKINS RULING AFFECTED: In the Barenblatt ruling, the Court majority backtracked on the Watkins decision in which the Court in 1957 disputed the clarity of House Rule XI authorizing the House Un-American Activities Committee. The Court stated that Watkins was within his rights in refusing, under the First Amendment, to answer questions whose legislative purpose was not clear to him, and which seemed to be for the purpose of exposure only.

The majority decision, delivered by Justice John Marshall Harlan and concurred in by Justices Clark, Whittaker, Frankfurter and the newest member, Potter Stewart, granted the "vagueness" of Rule XI but ruled that a "persuasive gloss of legislative history" shows beyond doubt that the House has clothed the committee "with persuasive authority to investigate Communist activity in this country."

While not denying a witness' right to First Amendment protection, the new opinion said that decision on when such rights may exist "involves a balancing by the courts of the competing private and public interests at stake." The opinion observed also that the Court "has consistently refused to view the Communist Party as an ordinary political party," implying that the First Amendment does not give the right to refuse to disclose CP membership.

STATE POWERS: In finding for New Hampshire against Dr. Uphaus, a majority opinion delivered by Justice Tom Clark and concurred in by the same four others as in the Barenblatt ruling, said that the Nelson decision of 1957, invalidating state sedition laws as superseded by the federal Smith Act, was not intended to "strip the states of the right to protect themselves."

States may not under the Nelson decision proceed against people for "the same conduct" as proscribed by the Smith Act, but may prosecute "for sedition against the state itself." The majority denied Dr. Uphaus's contention that the Court's Sweezy decision of 1957, stating that New Hampshire's anti-subversive mandate was "too sweeping," applied to his case. The Sweezy decision concerned lectures by economist Paul M. Sweezy at the Univ. of New Hampshire, on which

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DOES ADENAUER WANT TO END UP ON STAINED GLASS TOO?
The new "savior" of Germany ought to take a trip to Landshut, West Germany, and look hard on the scene depicted in a window of St. Martin's Cathedral. It shows Hitler (top left), Goering (lower left) and Goebbels (lower right) torturing St. Castulus, patron saint of the tormented. It is the work of Johann Lachner, an inmate of a Nazi concentration camp while Adenauer walked undisturbed in Cologne.

THE UNMENTIONED MENACE: AUTOMATION

Steel talks stalled as both sides play to the gallery

You know, I am disturbed by what seems to be becoming habit in this country, to adopt certain theories that Marx advanced. One is that there is inevitable a bitter and implacable warfare against the man that works, between the man that works and the man that hires him. To my mind this is absolutely and completely un-American.
—President Eisenhower, June 3

By Robert E. Light

TO PRESIDENT Eisenhower the current steel negotiations may be a Marxian drama with tragic overtones, but to others closer to the stage, it seems more like a television wrestling match; well-acted, well-staged and well-rehearsed.

Industry and union officials have been grip-locked since May 5 in the air-conditioned Presidential Suite at Manhattan's Roosevelt Hotel. Occasionally they break to appeal for audience sympathy; neither wants to be cast as the villain. President Eisenhower, who disdains the role of referee, nevertheless asked for a clean fight; he said he wanted both sides to show "self-discipline."

The curtain will come down on the first act on June 30 when the current three-year contract expires. The union, pointing to record profits the industry has shoveled in during recent years, has asked for a substantial wage increase, a non-contributory insurance plan (under the present contract workers pay part of the costs) and a 32-hour week at 40 hours pay every fourth week as a means of spreading work.

FREEZE WAGES: Industry officials

(Continued on Page 9)

THE LONG SHADOW OF AN OLD MAN

Adenauer's action: What it means to Geneva and after

By Kumar Goshal

A MENACING SHADOW fell on the Geneva sessions of the foreign ministers and the conference on nuclear test suspension on June 4, when Konrad Adenauer reneged on his pledge to be a candidate for the West German Presidency and announced his "unshakable intention" to stay on as Chancellor.

The Big Four foreign ministers, in their private meetings, were reported deadlocked over the issue of ending the occupation status of West Berlin. But the nuclear conference was said to be inching toward genuine agreement. The three "Atomic Club" members have already agreed on a preamble and 17 articles for a test ban treaty, with five articles and four annexes to go.

Difficulties still remained over the number of inspection posts in member countries and in China. (Washington insists that Moscow guarantee Peking's signature to the treaty and inspection posts in China, even though the U.S. refuses to recognize China.)

HOW IT BEGAN: It has generally been understood that, even if the foreign ministers fail to reach accord on West Berlin, progress toward a test ban would ensure and justify a summit meeting. Adenauer's decision threatened to complicate matters both at Geneva and at a future top-level parley.

Last April, under strong pressure from his Christian Democratic party, Chancellor Adenauer, 83, agreed to give up his post on July 1. Without warning, on June 4, he told party leaders he had changed his mind. At a stormy meeting of the party executive June 5 all except Interior Minister Gerhard Schroeder rejected his decision.

Later that day the party's parliamentary wing met in an angry mood. The

(Continued on Page 10)

THE MAIL BAG

Toll the alarm!

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

"The loud tocsin tolled its last alarm"! This was tolled in Mississippi over the murdered body of Mack Charles Parker, the state's 578th lynch victim.

"I am shocked that there has been no wave of protest across the country against lynching." These words of Mrs. Roosevelt's make it shamefully clear why no Federal anti-lynching bill has ever been enacted!

Members of Congress are not supermen, nor are they clairvoyant. Senators Hart, Lausche, Javits and other like-minded legislators enter a gruelling battle against bitter opposition in the service of their conscience and responsive to their sense of justice. They will be on the firing line. Our responsibility is to pass the ammunition—telegrams, letter, postcards—to these men and to our own representatives.

The Parker case abundantly provides every reason for a Federal anti-lynch law: Entry, then withdrawal, of the FBI, leaving findings in the Governor's hands pointing to guilty ringleaders and witnesses; six months' delay in summoning a Grand Jury; no interim move to detain suspects. Come November only the ghostly memory of this case will remain.

To no purpose the name of Emmett Till rang around the world. The name of Mack Charles Parker must not sound another vain alarm.

Muriel I. Symington

Balance sheet

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Did you realize that all the billions you itemize as the loot taken out of Africa in 300 years is less than one year's U.S.A. war waste? **Veni Vidi**

The Youth Festival

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Seventh World Youth Festival, July 26-Aug. 4, has received much attention around the country and has gained support in nearly every state—particularly on college campuses. This means that the U.S. delegation of 300 will be made up of young people from a great many states, colleges, fields of study and work.

The aim of the U. S. Festival Committee, since its founding last October, has been to organize just such a widely-representative delegation. Now a new job is before us.

Other countries will be represented at the Festival by large cultural delegations which have been preparing programs for many months. It is vital that we be able to present a program which will accurately reflect our artistic achievements, so that young people from other nations can gain as complete a view as possible of our cultural life. We need help in this project.

We are now trying to raise funds to send a young Puerto Rican dancer, a young Negro choreographer and the director of our chorus to the Festival. The presence of these people will add immeasurably to our cultural program, and we know that many GUARDIAN readers will want to help us put our best foot forward.

Please send whatever contribution you can to the U.S. Festival Committee, 246 Fifth Av., New York 1.

Joann Grant, exec.-secy.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

I should like to point out that there are no direct sales people in the Soviet Union. Naturally, this is because there is no free enterprise in existence there. Therefore I would like to suggest that the next time a sales-person comes to your door, you should be reminded to thank God that you live in a country where free enterprise is permitted!

—Family **Herald**, Montreal, 5/21

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: A.E.E., Saskatchewan, Canada.

Miss Strong replies

PEKING, CHINA

In your May 18 issue, Robert A. Kaufman says that since my article shows serfdom in Tibet while earlier GUARDIAN articles showed "a happy land of great progress," therefore the GUARDIAN was all wrong. I assume he alludes to Israel Epstein's article in 1955 on his trip to Tibet. May I say that my articles are as honest as I can make them, and I think Epstein's articles were equally honest.

"Progress" is of many kinds and it goes in waves, seldom in a straight, unbroken line. In late 1955 China had completed two major highways connecting Tibet with the rest of China and this had brought a contact which made all goods cheaper to Tibetans and brought wide hope. A state bank gave loans without interest to peasants and a few hospitals, schools and experimental farms were set up.

All this was "progress" and many Tibetans were "happy" over it, though I do not think the GUARDIAN portrayed Tibet as a spotless land. Epstein showed serfdom still existing and torture still used in the courts. What happened next was that the upper class began to split and some were willing to accept the end of serfdom, since Peking would pay them compensation. The diehards, holding the local government under the Dalai Lama, stuck to serfdom and incited rebellion in various provinces, beginning in 1956.

The reactionaries were sheltered by the 1951 Agreement whereby Peking promised not to change the local government of Tibet. Today Peking is attacked in India for having finally changed this local government, and attacked in Japan for having permitted its evil actions so long. Peking stuck by its 1951 Agreement until March 28 for three reasons: (1) It was an agreement; (2) reforms cannot succeed until the people support them; (3) any long struggle in Tibet could bring in foreign interference.

Peking's final timing, I think, was very accurate. Peking waited while the Kasha (cabinet) fomented rebellion, oppressed the people, abetted banditry, and finally openly renounced the 1951 agreement itself. I think Peking's timing made restoration of order rapid and will win wide support for the new reforms.

Anna Louise Strong

Wall Street Journal

"If you HAVE to fortify yourself, why can't it be with all-purpose vitamins?"

See Buying Service, p. 12

Invite from Peadar

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Judging from the letters in your Mail Bag, I infer that there is a higher percentage of more enlightened people among your readers than among those of the New York City tabloids.

I am therefore extending an invitation to your readers to our soirees which are as much educational as they are entertaining. We have reading, discussions and culture contests with awards.

We assemble every Saturday at 10:30 p.m. in the Poets Room of the International Restaurant at Perry and Greenwich Sts., N.Y.C. Admission is free. Our group is named the Philokaliers.

Peadar Nunan

Faithfulness

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I look forward weekly to this paper, like many others, and am constantly amazed to find the continued high level of journalism and reporting, to say nothing of the honesty that we have come to expect from at least one paper in these corrupt times. Thanks for your continued faithfulness to us, your ever faithful readers and believers in a better way of life to come.

Marie Talbot

Her own copy now

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Enclosed a check for $5. I would like you to include my name on your list of subscribers.

Though I am a new subscriber, I have had the pleasure of reading your paper numerous times and feel I must take this opportunity to personally thank you for your tireless effort in reporting the true side of the news.

(Mrs.) Blossom Ehrlich

Apalachin, U.S.A.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Congratulations upon your editorial "Apalachin, U.S.A.". It certainly is about time those who cherish civil liberties stirred themselves with regard to this outrageous situation. The tactics employed can be altogether too readily used against others.

Because of the unpopularity of the persons involved no one has raised the obvious point that everything done so far is basically unconstitutional and authoritarian. If we do not protest when such high-handed, illegal methods are used in unpopular cases, it will be too late to protest when we are the victims.

Joseph Spencer

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE PARIS RESIDENCE OF THE NEW U.S. Ambassador to France, David Bruce, was the scene of a private dinner given by Secretary of State Dean Acheson for Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky. There were only six guests. The time was passed in drinking and irrelevancies.

The dinner did not produce agreement on Berlin. The ministers continued to argue the basic question of the veto (i.e., four-power unanimity) in Berlin as they had for all Germany. But it did underline a fact which was concealed behind the exaggerated gloom shrouding the Palais Royal since the conference began. Peaceful public opinion had won a notable victory. The principle of contact between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. had been re-established.

—National Guardian, June 13, 1949

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REPORT TO READERS

Sobell and justice

THE HEROIC VIGIL to which Helen Sobell has devoted her every waking moment of the last nine years (see opposite page), should command the conscience of each of us as the time nears for this year's anniversary of the cruel climax of the Rosenberg Case.

Since the fearful summer of 1950, when the Sobell family was abducted by FBI emissaries while vacationing in Mexico, and Morton Sobell, a young scientist in electronics, arrested for complicity with Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in an alleged conspiracy to commit espionage, Mrs. Sobell has fought an uphill fight—not only for freedom and vindication for her husband, but for the integrity of American justice.

We need not here review the details of the case: two extraordinary books written since the Rosenbergs were executed—John Wexley's **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg** and Prof. Malcolm Sharp's **Was Justice Done?**—have thoroughly demolished any semblance of a substantive case at law against either the Rosenbergs or Sobell. Only under the iniquitous Federal conspiracy statutes, which admit the testimony of self-servers, could a case have even been presented. And even with the since-disclosed structure of perjuries, distortions knowingly used by the prosecution, it is doubtful that a jury not inflamed by war hysteria and witch hunts would have brought in a verdict of guilty, even on conspiracy grounds.

THE DEFENSE AT THE TRIAL, with only the meagre savings and borrowings of the defendants' families at its disposal, was tragically unequipped for the huge task of tearing down the facade of fake evidence constructed by the prosecution.

It was only after the convictions, when the cases were moving into the cumbersome and costly machinery of appeals, that the general public began to have an opportunity to examine the evidence. This came as a result of a thorough-going examination of the trial record and disclosures of major discrepancies by the GUARDIAN in a series of articles by William A. Reuben, beginning in the summer of 1951 and continuing into the fall.

The GUARDIAN series was undertaken in the conviction that reasonable doubt existed as to the guilt of either the Rosenbergs or Sobell. By the time our investigations ended, the ugly shape of frameup was clear for all to see.

At the GUARDIAN's proposal, a national committee was formed to secure justice for the Rosenbergs. There followed the passionate fight for the lives of these two young parents, a worldwide clemency appeal in which Pope Pius XII twice sought to intercede, first with President Truman, then with President Eisenhower; a stay of execution by Supreme Court Justice Douglas, the unprecedented reconvening of the whole Court to override him; and finally the executions as the sundown of June 19, 1953, began the Jewish Sabbath of that week.

WITH THE DEATH SENTENCE for the Rosenbergs came a 30-year sentence for Morton Sobell. His only guilt was having been a friend of the Rosenbergs who chose that fateful summer of 1950 to take his family to Mexico on a vacation. Even with all the perjuries, no case was ever presented against Sobell beyond the word of a government witness, Max Elitcher, that "Sobell was in this, too." In what, never became clear. With that testimony, Elitcher won immunity from prosecution for an earlier perjury in connection with his government job. Sobell was sent first to Atlanta Penitentiary; then at Thanksgiving time, 1952, to Alcatraz, where he remained until transferred back to Atlanta last year.

All recourse to the Supreme Court has failed Sobell, as it did the Rosenbergs, evidently because the Court is still unwilling to confront the consequences of what it might find upon examination of the Rosenberg-Sobell prosecution methods and trial procedures.

Hence the long-overdue release of Morton Sobell from prison rests solely at this time with the executive power of the President to commute his sentence. An impressive and growing number of leading figures in science, education, the clergy and other public life, beginning four years ago with Nobel scientist Harold Urey and the late Elmer Davis, have urged this action on the President.

At meetings this month in many areas of the country, starting with a gathering this Friday, June 19, at Webster Hall in New York City on the sixth anniversary of the Rosenberg's execution, new voices will be heard for executive action, and new forces will dedicate themselves to the task of opening that final door for Morton Sobell.

Only when this is done can we speak to the world again of the integrity of American justice.

—THE GUARDIAN

MORTON SOBELL TELLS HIS WIFE IN ATLANTA PENITENTIARY:

'Let it be soon . . . I'm thirsty for freedom'

By Helen Sobell

ATLANTA, GA.

WE TURNED LEFT through the two tall double columns on each side of the entrance, saw the stone engraved "U. S. Federal Penitentiary" flash by, and were circling around the semi-circular drive which led to the front of the main building. Isobel's smile was cool and refreshing in the hot Georgia sun as she reached across to open the door for me.

"You have a good visit and tell Morty we can't wait to meet him," she said. "And I'll be waiting here for you at quarter of four."

"I hope I keep you waiting," I answered, and waved at her as she drove away.

I walked across the road toward the little guard house that faces the main building, medieval in its somber grandeur, surrounded with tall watchtowers. Out on the road I saw a city bus pull up and discharge a lone passenger. I knew that bus very well. In all the cities of all the countries of the world there may not be another bus like that one, and for one reason only, its name. Other buses may be marked "Sixth Ave. and 59th St." or "Falls Church," but this bus is marked "Federal Prison."

It was eight years ago that I first saw that bus as I waited on one of Atlanta's busiest streets. I stood there, on my way to see Morty, long before I knew that Atlanta was a paradise compared to Alcatraz, and long before I knew that the search for justice would lead through the shadow of death into the pain of nearly a decade of unrelieved suffering.

THE "FEDERAL PRISON" BUS pulled away, and for me the thoughts of that time when we had no friends in Atlanta, no one to surround us with help and love, went away too. I faced the guard who asked me if I had any keys, or drugs, or weapons. Once inside, I was motioned toward the waiting room. There, surrounded by three large soft-drink dispensing machines, one candy, one cigarette, and one chewing-gum machine, I could gaze at the black-and-white rubber tiles on the floor or turn my attention to a sign which repeated, each time my eyes fell upon

it, "Visitors Must! Deposit articles in corridor lockers, Before entering visiting room." In a rack were three folders, red, white, blue, each marked "Instructions for visiting," and below, on the table,

copies of **Life, Time, Newsweek** of various dates and conditions. Here the ebb and flow of the lower levels of prison administration is reflected by the guards who drift in and out for a cigarette, a bottled drink, and a bit of conversation. I wait.

This is always the time when you wonder if perhaps this time the powers that be will slip from their rigid pattern, and a few extra minutes will fall into the visit. And there is always the hope that the visit may begin at some strategic moment (though Heaven only knows when it is) so that in this minor battle we, and not they, will emerge victorious.

So first you think it's not yet the most propitious time, and you hope the guard doesn't return immediately, and then as the clock hands move on, you're sure that the time, the right time, is going away.

BUT FINALLY, HE COMES, folder in hand, and mispronounces, "Mrs. Sobell," and leads off toward the battery of gates. You go through one, and after that swings shut in back of you, the one in front opens electrically, and you walk through that one. (I always think of the comic sequence when the butler says, "Walk this way," and goes limping off down the hall, and the visitor takes his instructions and limps after him in the identical gait.) I follow and feel crippled by all of the saddened, wasteful frustration which ionizes the prison air so that it radiates despair, and I long to see the superstitions of prison procedure buried so that men may live.

This is no wild eyed dream that I alone have. Writing in the Washington **Post & Times Herald** of May 17 Ernest A. Mitler told of the practices at the Mississippi State Penitentiary:

"Prisoner-fathers have an opportunity to play with their children; there even is some sports equipment available. Beyond that, inmates and their wives can stroll about as they talk. If they want, they can go to specially designated cottages for complete privacy as husband and wife. This aspect of the program, which can include marital relations, is unique. From it derive many of the program's benefits."

The superintendent of Mississippi State Penitentiary, William Harpole, told the fourth Southern Conference on Correction in Tallahassee: "In a sense, family visits in our institutions serve a selfish purpose. They make my job as superintendent easier because the men appreciate the visits so."

Certainly it would seem that if these practices have so much value for the 2,000 men at the Mississippi State Penitentiary, they could be accorded to the 3,000 men in Atlanta, and indeed to all 20,000 inmates of the Federal Prison System. It can come, it must come; so what stake can there be in the prolongation of their misery?

If my heart cries for each prisoner's misery, it does so because I know what

has been done to Morty. Where no justification can be offered for the treatment given to those who have offended, who have committed grave crimes, how much deeper is the hurt when all of these barbarous torments are substituted for enlightened penology in the case of an innocent man?

IT'S A LONG WALK down the corridor, even if there are not too many steps, and it's an eternity until the door opens and I see Morty rising from the green plastic-covered sofa to hold me in his arms and kiss me for as long as we dare. When the children are with us Morty solves the problem of who shall be first by embracing us all together, then separating us out with kisses. But for this visit we were alone, with the guard and the other visitors, of course, but alone in our world, nevertheless.

To talk about all the big things—the legal action that is being prepared, the editorials which are appearing, that we are going to be able to get our new four-page newspaper printed, that we have wonderful sponsors for the committee—or the little things—ourselves, the children, their school, books—this is an unsolvable problem. So we go back and forth between, and touch all things. Then comes a moment when we sit silently, holding hands, thinking all things, remembering, and knowing the world as it was for us, and as it will again be.

Out of the pause comes a renewed pressure of questions, plans, suggestions, admonitions. Morty is thin, but manages as far as the food is concerned . . . he has managed to make things more efficient around the textile factory where he is working, but each new idea means a struggle . . . he may be changing his work . . . possibly he'll take a correspondence course in thermodynamics . . . he did see the **Catholic Worker** editorial and thought it just fine—and so the hour goes spinning to its end.

I'VE JUST TOLD MORTY about our June 19th meeting in New York with Dr. Horace Kallen and Prof. Murray Branch, when the voice of the guard cuts through our absorption to tell us that our time is up. He rings for the conducting guard, and goes to the door. We hold our breath, because this is the minute which decides if those few extra moments will be ours. "I'm afraid you'll have to wait," the guard tells us, and we laugh back at him together, "Oh, that's too bad," and settle down for our hard-won victory.

But then the door opens, and as Mort holds me in his arms for that last kiss, we know that for the moment we have lost. And here in this losing moment is the dim shadow of that overwhelming loss which shuddered into being on a Black Friday in 1953, and which we have remembered each of the six years since.

When Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were snatched from the jaws of death by the stay of Supreme Court Justice Douglas during this June week six years ago, the entire world held its breath in hope and thanksgiving. A mother and father who swore their innocence and held their honor high, who embodied all that was good—that such as these were not to be sacrificed upon an altar of ignorance and fear was the dearest hope of all who loved God and man. But the moment of hope and thankfulness passed on that June 19, in 1953. Fearful of the passing of the Sabbath which would come at sundown, the tormentors speeded their labors; and bright on the edge of evening, with hate and electricity, they killed Ethel and Julius.

For us each small tragedy recalls that height of horror, just as we know that Morton's freedom is the only prescrip-

tion which can ease the pangs of conscience now becoming so acute.

"They won't kill us, Morty," I whisper in his ear, "not our bodies, and not our minds. We're going to win, Morty; everybody knows, everybody remembers, everybody is working."

HE DIDN'T SAY IT, but as the door closed, his eyes, his body sent a message more powerful than any words.

"Let it be soon; I'm thirsty for freedom, I'm hungry to live with love, and not hate: let it be soon."

Each gate clanged behind me. As I walked down the steps, I too was silent, but my heart called to each of you, "Let it be true that you do know, that you do remember, that you are working; let it be true, because then it will be soon!"

They who judge what is news

NEARLY 7,000 PERSONS filled London's Albert Hall May 25 for the first Christian mass meeting against the H-bomb. The sponsors were Christian Action, the organization headed by Canon Collins of St. Paul's which has actively fought nuclear war and S. African **apartheid**, and the Friends Peace Committee. Collins was chairman and speakers included the Bishop of Southwark, Dean Gruber of Berlin, Father Trevor Huddleston and publisher Victor Gollancz.

Punctuated with the reading by prominent actors and writers of anti-war texts from Old and New Testaments, the meeting was on a solemn but sometimes militant note. Dean Gruber, in a moving speech on behalf of those "who have passed through Hitler's prisons and concentration camps," bitterly recalled the West's two decades of "mistaken" policies with regard to Germany and called increased nuclear arming "not only sheer madness but the greatest offense against God."

In a letter to the **Times**, the Bishop of London and the Dean of Westminster, who were present in Albert Hall, "noted with surprise and bewilderment" the press blackout on the meeting although the **Times** gave liberal space to a race-hatred gathering in Trafalgar Square. (Only two minor papers briefly reported the Albert Hall meeting.) The **Times** replied editorially that the job of measuring what is or is not news should be left to "trained journalists" rather than to "bishops or deans, or even canons."

THE GREAT AMERICAN TRAIN ROBBERY—III

The case for public ownership of railroads

By Frank Bellamy
(Last of three articles)

UNITED STATES railroads are driving more and more rail shippers to trucks just as they have driven hundreds of thousands of passengers to automobiles.

Fifteen years ago the railroads handled more than two-thirds of all inter-city freight shipments on a ton-mile basis. Today, their share is 45%. Trucks have grabbed most of the lost traffic.

The reason: Shortsightedness and downright ineptitude on the part of railroad management.

Hauling freight is a far larger railroad operation than hauling people. More jobs depend on it. The vast majority of the 170,000 railroaders laid off in the last two years owe their places on jobless rolls not to the fast erosion of passenger services but to the dismal fact that freight carloadings have not kept pace with job-destroying technological advances.

RAIL ADVANTAGES: Rail executives blame loss of freight traffic on 1) Interstate Commerce Commission over-regulation of railroads and under-regulation of trucks, and 2) Federal and state highway construction programs from which truckers derive greater benefits than they pay for in taxes and tolls.

To some extent these are legitimate grievances. Railroads are 100% subject to ICC regulation, while only one-third of truck traffic is. And high-speed superhighways paid for by the public at large have enabled tractor-trailers to take business away from slower freight trains.

But far more significant has been the inability of the rail corporations to capitalize on the inherent advantages in rail efficiency. The efficiency of a steel wheel turning on a steel rail has not yet been surpassed. The lack of friction is such that the same amount of fuel will propel a freight car five times the distance it will a truck carrying the same load. With these advantages, one would assume that railroads would outstrip their competitors. Actually, the competitors have outstripped them.

THE INDICTMENT: G. E. Leighty, president of the Railroad Telegraphers and chairman of the Railway Labor Executives' Assn., put the picture in proper perspective at a conference of railroad and utility commissioners in Miami in April.

Many railroad managements, he said, "appear determined to discourage rather than encourage business."

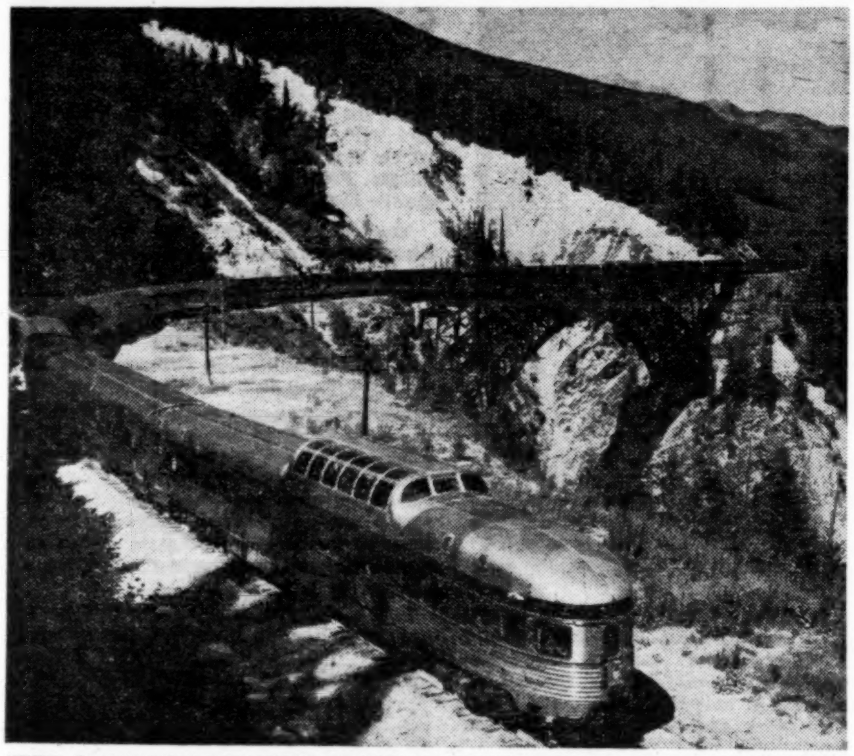
"A number are trying to get out of the less-than-carload freight business," he said. "Some are trying to stop hauling mail and trying to dry up the express business. They want to stop being common carriers. They prefer to haul only bulk freight, on which they have a monopoly and which they consider their most profitable traffic."

Even with carload-lot traffic, the union official pointed out, "far too many carrier officials show a sort of mental arthritis. Their minds are so stiff and set, they are glued so Scrooge-like to their ledgers, so determined to chop down the payroll, that they end by providing even their best shippers with wholly unsatisfactory service.

"They send out too few cars," he went on. "They send out dirty or broken cars. They cut way down on switching service. They pile up unconscionable delays in delivery because they are waiting to make up extra-long trains. The result is plain: To save a penny, they lose a dollar. The shippers turn to trucks."

RATES DOUBLED: One charge that Leighty omitted from his otherwise thorough indictment is that rail companies are fast pricing themselves out of the market. ICC figures show that rail freight rates more than doubled in the 12-year period, mid-1946 to mid-1958, rising by 107.7% in 14 different increases.

The "radicals" in rail management are those who contend that railroads could make more money by lowering their rates to win back lost business. Increased traffic, they say, would more than offset the rate reductions. Despite cost accounting studies that back up their position, the "radicals" have not gotten much of a hearing. The dominant voices in the majority of rail corporations continue to prefer higher rates to greater volume.



"THE CANADIAN" CROSSING STONY CREEK BRIDGE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA
The U.S., Canada and Brazil have the only privately-owned railroads in the world today.

Small shippers have been hit hardest by this sort of rail mismanagement. Because their success depends on giving customers good service, speed of delivery is particularly important to them. More and more small shippers have lost patience with railroad slowness—the average freight train, including all stops, creeps along at 19 miles an hour—and have switched to more expensive but faster trucks.

END OF RAILWAY EXPRESS? Ominous for small shippers is the threatened death of Railway Express, now owned jointly by 68 railroads. The N. Y. Central and some other eastern roads want to pull out of the agency, and it may die unless a plan is worked out by July 31 to save it. Its death would hurt small shippers (private individuals, too) whose shipments are too fragile to go by truck and too bulky or heavy for parcel post.

Some rail executives favor a plan whereby the government would take over the none-too-profitable Railway Express Agency and combine it with the parcel post service. Howard Hosmer, an ICC examiner, said last fall that such a move "might be financially advantageous to the railroads."

Similar government take-overs have been suggested for commuter lines now in the red and such losing operations as New York's Grand Central Terminal and Pennsylvania Station.

But cautious rail executives oppose such moves. Although they have nothing against roads unloading unprofitable operations onto the government, they fear it might give the government the idea of taking over profitable operations as well.

THE BIG FEAR: Rail magnate fear of government ownership is understandable. The big boys oppose nationalization if for no other reason than that the government would not pay their high salaries. James M. Symes, president of the Pennsy, certainly would not favor being nationalized out of his $130,000 salary and the plush private railroad car now at his beck and call.

If agitation for nationalization ever becomes general, its advocates probably will include eminently respectable citizens: Shippers fed up with poor service and high rates, passengers abandoned on their platforms, and government officials chagrined that the U. S., the pre-eminent industrial power in the world, no longer has the best-run rail system.

From a global point of view, government ownership and operation is a fashionable solution to such ills as have sickened the American rail industry. Outside of the U. S., there are only two privately owned rail systems of any consequence—the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Companhia Paulista de Estradas de Fierro in Brazil. All others, including those in Western Europe, have been taken over for public use, not private profit.

PRIME EXAMPLES: Switzerland's crack electrified rail network commonly is cited as an example of what can be accomplished under public ownership. And the Soviet Union's all-out track-laying and electrification programs contrast sharply with stagnation on the rails in the U.S.

Railway Age, an industry weekly whose editor spent six weeks inspecting Soviet railroads last year, carried an editorial, "Wake Them Up About Russia!," April 20, lauding "the thrifty Russians" for "putting their rubles and kopeks into highly productive railroads."

"The result," the editorial went on, "is that, in 1957, Russia's railroads produced more net ton-miles than the U. S. railroads ever hauled in any one year. And this is just the beginning—because Russia's railroads have developed an impressive momentum of growth. For example, Russia's railroad freight traffic in 1957 was 285% greater than in 1945—while ton-miles of the U. S. railroads in 1957 were down 10% from 1945."

Experience in Switzerland, the Soviet Union and other countries where public rail ownership has proved a marked success lends verification to the belief that nationalization in this country would benefit passengers, shippers and rail workers alike.

THE GAINS: Passengers would be won back to the rails by new equipment, faster schedules, sharp fare reductions and other improvements in service. Routes which now duplicate one another would be consolidated at no inconvenience to the traveler; stations likewise. The government would eliminate most of Chicago's eight passenger terminals, for instance, to make it possible at last to pass through that city without changing trains.

Train, bus and rapid transit stations which now are separate would be consolidated where feasible to reduce time-consuming and irksome delays in getting from one means of transportation to another.

Private passenger cars now account for 88% of all inter-city travel. Returning even 10% of this traffic to the rails would go a long way toward relieving jams on the highways and carbon monoxide and parking nuisances in the cities.

Shippers would get faster service and lower rates following government consolidation and centralization of the present vast, sprawling, haphazard network of 635 separate and distinct rail companies. Eliminating this source of wasteful rivalry would generate economies and speed services on a vast scale. Duplicating yards and repair shops would be centralized. Fewer freight cars would be needed because of better distribution.

COOPERATION: Instead of trying to cut one another out of freight business, railroads, trucks and barges would cooperate for their mutual benefit and their customers' convenience. Railroads would specialize in long-haul freight which they can handle most efficiently. Trucks would haul light loads short distances and serve as feeders between rail lines and in joint piggyback operations. Barges would continue to handle bulk commodities for which time is less a consideration than cost.

Rail workers would benefit through proper maintenance of rolling stock, track and structures, which would reduce the present high accident rate in the industry. A government guarantee against lay-offs—both temporary and permanent—would give railroaders better year-round job security than they ever enjoyed under private enterprise. With job security in the bag, the brotherhoods probably could be persuaded to give ground on restrictive work rules and connivance in denial of hiring and promotion opportunities to Negroes.

Burdened by craft organization and led for the most part by conservatives, the 23 unions in the field have overlooked state ownership as a solution to private mismanagement. Nor have they actively sought allies among disgruntled shippers and passengers who also have a stake in well-run railroads.

ALLIANCE NEEDED: Resentment against the railroads is traditional on nearly every farm and in nearly every small town in the land. An alliance among the brotherhoods, farm organizations and chambers of commerce to fight mutually injurious rail management policies is not unthinkable. But so far it hasn't been tried.

Nonetheless, the railroads may be digging their own corporate graves in maintaining policies of callousness toward their employes and their customers. For if half-hearted attempts to curb the roads remain ineffective, the injured parties may someday get together and insist on an end to private mismanagement once and for all. And the surest end to private mismanagement is public ownership.

National Lawyers Guild names David Scribner as its secretary

THE NATIONAL Lawyers Guild has named David Scribner, New York attorney, as its new National Executive Secretary. Mr. Scribner has defended many civil liberties cases, including the Quinn and Emspak cases which delineated the broad scope of Fifth Amendment protections, and is co-counsel in the Barenblatt case now awaiting Supreme Court review. He was national counsel for the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers for 14 years. He succeeds Dr. Royal France in the post. Dr. France will continue as Guild secretary.

THE MILITANT PACIFIST

Rev. McCrackin serves six months, still won't pay taxes

THE PUBLISHED ORDER of service at the West Cincinnati-St. Barnabas church on May 31 began: "We welcome back to our fellowship and service our pastor who, for faith, 'chose to suffer with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season.'" In the pulpit stood Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin who chose to suffer five months and four days in a Federal prison rather than pay income taxes which he said would be used for war preparation.

For his sermon the pacifist minister took this theme:

The need for speaking out against the events which have "pushed us to the brink of nuclear disaster." We are there, he said, "because millions, yes tens of millions of people are openly cooperating in this program of annihilation or are keeping fearfully or cynically silent."

About ten years ago McCrackin decided to stop paying income taxes. At first he withheld only that portion of his tax which he figured would go into the military budget. But later he refused even to file a tax return.

THE CIRCUIT RIDERS: The Internal Revenue Service attached his bank accounts and obtained a lien for the amounts it said he owed. The matter rested until last year when the Circuit Riders, a local group organized to oppose progressive social action (and especially integration), opened a public attack on McCrackin. The burden of their resentment against the minister was that he had met with "communists" in Tennessee. The reference was to a Labor Day weekend conference in 1957 at Tennessee's Highlander Folk School at which Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and others spoke on integration and civil rights.

Other "patriotic" groups joined in the attack on McCrackin and his name was frequently on the front pages of the Cincinnati papers. On Sept. 10, 1958, Internal Revenue officials asked the minister to come to their offices to talk about his taxes. When he refused, they got a summons ordering his appearance. Three Federal agents came to escort him to the hearing. When he refused to go, they carried him bodily to their car, into court and into a jail cell.

SIX MONTHS AND $250: While awaiting trial McCrackin fasted for 15 days in protest and was brought to court in a wheel chair. On Dec. 12, after 19 minutes' deliberation, a jury convicted the minister. In a wild red-baiting denunciation of McCrackin, the judge sentenced him to six months and a $250 fine.

McCrackin was due to be released April 29 with time off for good behavior; but he refused to pay the fine and 30 days were added to his term.

On his parole May 29, McCrackin denounced Federal prisons. He said: "As far as helping men get ready to return to society, they don't. There is such a de-personalization of the men when they enter, that even their wedding rings are taken away from them." During his imprisonment McCrackin worked in the kitchen, but he said: "I have such a strong feeling about it that I would not cooperate in working if I had to go back."

THE SAME FEELING: Internal Revenue officials said they would decide in the future whether to proceed further against McCrackin. For himself the minister said: "I feel just as strongly about that [payment of income tax] as I did before. I don't believe in conscripting a person's life or his money if he believes war is wrong."

In support of McCrackin, 734 people across the country signed a statement made public on his day of release:

"As long as four-fifths of an individual's taxes go for past, present and future wars, it is understandable why pacifists have conscientious scruples against paying taxes, just as they have conscientious scruples against engaging in military combat. Woolman, Thoreau and Gandhi, well known and honored persons in history, openly refused to pay taxes even though their refusal was a direct violation of the law. Rev. Maurice McCrackin, in his long refusal to pay income taxes for war, stands within this tradition. For this we admire and respect him."

REV. MAURICE McCRACKIN
He refused to cooperate in his arrest

Supreme Court

(Continued from Page 1)

Sweezy refused to answer questions of state Atty. Gen. Louis C. Wyman.

TORTUOUS JOURNEY: In both the Uphaus and Barenblatt cases, the Supreme Court had previously vacated earlier contempt judgments and ordered the cases back to the lower courts for reconsideration in the light of the Sweezy and Watkins decisions. The New Hampshire Supreme Court reconsidered the Uphaus case and upheld the conviction. It is this decision which the present Supreme Court ruling upholds.

Barenblatt's case, originally confirmed by a three-judge panel of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, was heard by the entire bench of nine Appeals judges on its return for reconsideration and upheld by a 5-4 division.

The Supreme Court majority now upholding the two judgments included Justices Frankfurter and Harlan, both of whom voted the other way when the Watkins case was first before the court.

Justice Brennan, speaking for the dissenting side in the Uphaus case, declared that the state's purpose in questioning Dr. Uphaus "was the impermissible one of exposure for exposure's sake."

FOR BARENBLATT: The dissent by Justice Black for himself, Douglas and Warren disputed that "abridging First Amendment freedoms can be justified by a Congressional or judicial balancing act. . . . It is difficult at best to make a man guess—at the penalty of imprisonment—whether a court will consider the state's need for certain information superior to society's interest in unfettered freedom."

He disputed also the majority implication that the Communists "do not constitute a political party, but only a criminal gang." By accepting this view, the Court in effect "declares that party outlawed," Black said, thus countering "a practically unanimous feeling throughout the country and in our courts that this could not be done in our free land."

No group is safe, Black said, "once we allow any group which has some political aims or ideas to be driven from the ballot and from the battle for men's minds." The Court majority "fails to see what is here for all to see—that exposure and punishment is the aim of this [House Un-American Activities] committee and the reason for its existence. . . .

"I cannot believe that the nature of our judicial office requires us to be so blind."

Justice Brennan, in a separate dissent, said that "no purpose for the investigation of Barenblatt is revealed by the record except exposure purely for the sake of exposure."

New California hearings

ON THE EVE of the Supreme Court decision in the Barenblatt case, the House Committee on Un-American Activities announced two new witch-hunts against teachers—in San Francisco June 17, and Los Angeles beginning June 22.

After the new hearings became known, Frank Wilkinson, secretary of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms (617 N. Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles 4, Calif.), immediately announced that his group would attempt to bring the subpenaed teachers together. "The whole success of the resistance," he said, "depends on the speed with which the subpenas are gathered." He added: "The human tragedies involved in this Los Angeles hearing are far worse than before."

Richard Arens, Committee staff counsel, returns to the new hearings as Committee counsel. When he was last in Los Angeles, Dec. 6, 1956, his behavior toward witnesses and their counsel was so outrageous that it drew a censure from the California Bar Board of Governors. In June, 1957, in San Francisco, he delivered a tirade against the California Bar in which he said that its report criticizing him sounded more like "agents of the Kremlin than the representatives of the California Bar."

DEFEAT FOR WITCH HUNTERS

N. Y. teachers win four-year fight not to be informers

CIVIL LIBERTIES for state and municipal employes were reaffirmed last month in a decision of the New York State Court of Appeals, highest in the state. On May 28 the court upheld a ruling by N.Y. State Education Commissioner James E. Allen Jr. that teachers may not be dismissed for refusing to inform on their colleagues. Would-be witch hunters across the country had hoped for a decision which would sanction the informer system. There had also been the danger that an intensified inquisition would be undertaken among New York City's 150,000 municipal employes.

Immediately affected were three New York City public school teachers, a clerk, a school principal and an associate professor at Hunter College. All had admitted past membership in the Communist party, but refused to name others.

The decision marked a four-year fight led by the independent Teachers Union. In 1955 the New York City Board of Education, which has conducted a sweeping witch hunt in the schools, adopted a resolution requiring teachers who were former Communists to identify colleagues on official questioning. In August, 1956, on appeal, Commissioner Allen overturned the ruling. He said: "This type of inquisition has no place in the school system."

POISONED ATMOSPHERE: He added: "There is near unanimity on the part of teachers throughout the state that indiscriminate use of this type of interrogation immediately engenders an atmosphere of suspicion and uneasiness in the schools and colleges . . . No one knows when the finger of suspicion points at him . . .

"A school system which sets one teacher against another in this manner is not conducive toward the strength and the cohesion which needs to exist in order to instill character into the student body."

The New York City Board of Education appealed to the State Supreme Court, but was turned down in May, 1957. A year later the Appellate Division also upheld Commissioner Allen.

The latest appeal was based on the contention that Allen's action was "arbitrary." In upholding the commissioner, the court said: "It is also noteworthy that no other school board, of the several hundred existing in New York State, has found it necessary to conduct the type of investigation to which defendant-employes have been subjected."

FOR REINSTATEMENT: Teachers Union president Abraham Lederman called for immediate reinstatement of the teachers. Attorney Victor Rabinowitz, representing three of the teachers, asked the board for a meeting to discuss reinstatement and back pay.

The N.Y. *Post* said editorially: "The ruling should finally put an end to the know-nothing crusade of the city's Board of Education . . . It would be a simple, if belated, act of decency for the Board . . . to announce promptly that the victims of its inquisition are being restored to their posts and given a chance to resume the useful existences which were so harshly interrupted."

The Board said it was still studying the matter.

Julius Nash, one of the teachers, said: "I spent my whole life preparing for teaching. It is the only thing I want to do. What a waste of manpower for a science teacher with years of experience and 30 points of graduate work beyond the MA to spend his time selling toys and children's gadgets."

Sobell banquet in Los Angeles June 27 honors new delegates

HONORING DELEGATES from three western states which have recently joined the national Free Morton Sobell activity, the Los Angeles Sobell Committee will hold a banquet Saturday, June 27 at the new Embassy Banquet Room, 847 Grand Av., Los Angeles.

The banquet will climax a weekend planning and organizational meeting to be attended by delegates from Canada, Washington, Oregon, Arizona and California.

Dinner and entertainment will begin at 7 p.m. and will be preceded by a cocktail hour. Tickets are available through the Los Angeles Sobell Committee office at 462 N. Western Av., Los Angeles 4, or by calling HOllywood 4-4725.

DEATH OF AN ALGERIAN LAWYER IN PARIS

Political murder: Symbol of Fifth Republic?

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

ON FRIDAY NIGHT, May 22, Maitre Ould Aoudia, 34, an Algerian lawyer and member of the Paris bar, left his office late. He had finished his preparation for an important trial the next day. As he locked his office door and headed for the stairway, two bullets hit him. He died instantly. The building superintendent found the body the next morning. No one had heard a sound, no one had seen a killer running.

The right-wing papers and some others suggested the possibility of murder-for-love or murder-for-money. But not for long. The killing of Maitre Aoudia looked too much like political murder.

The young Algerian lawyer had been defense counsel for a number of members of the Algerian National Liberation Front. He was, in fact, one of a "pool" of eight lawyers who handle most Algerian defense cases, both in France and in Algeria. The trial he was to have attended the day after his death was in defense of 15 Algerian students charged with attempting to revive their outlawed students' organization.

DAY OF MOURNING: The day after his death Aoudia's colleagues told a packed court room: "This is a day of mourning: one of us was assassinated last night."

The President of the Court, before postponing the trial to June 26, made this comment:

"Thousands of Algerians have been killed since the beginning of the war. This is just another one."

That same Saturday morning, the seven surviving lawyers of the "pool" all received identical letters saying "YOU TOO" in newsprint letters pasted on sheets of paper. The communications were numbered from two to eight. There was no number one.

After the murder it was recalled that Aoudia had frequently defended persons who charged they had been tortured. Last July a worker in the Paris suburb of Argenteuil, held 30 hours for questioning by the police, complained of severe beatings and of torture by water and by electricity. Aoudia and one of his colleagues had written an open letter to Minister André Malraux at the time:

"Since you propose that Francois Mauriac and Albert Camus go to Algeria to inquire about torture, may we suggest they simply go to . . . the police commissariat of Argenteuil?"

The 15 students now on trial had called as witnesses several fellow students who said they had been victims of torture by the Paris police.

A LANDMARK: Through timing, a political murder often takes on the value of a symbol and of a warning. The young lawyer murdered in the heart of Paris is like a warning of just how far Algiers can go in Paris today—at a time when two deputies of the Union for the New Republic present a motion requesting capital punishment for all "acquaintance with the Algerian rebellion."

The body of Maitre Ould Aoudia, who was buried at a time set by the police so the fewest number came to his funeral—is a symbol of the state of French democracy today—at a time when Deputies and Senators are seeing their right of vote and even their right of speech curtailed to mere form without substance.

The murder of the young Algerian lawyer is a landmark on the Fifth Republic's road in its second year.

AFTER 140 YEARS OF BRITISH RULE

Semi-free Singapore sweeps Left to office

FAMILY-SIZED SAMPANS CROWD SINGAPORE'S WATERFRONT
In the first free election the people voted socialist

THE BRITISH CROWN COLONY of Singapore on May 30 elected its first popular government based on a new Constitution agreed on in London last year. It took three years of hard negotiations to reach the goal.

In 1956 conferences in London broke off over Britain's insistence on controlling both the island's internal and external defense. The Singapore delegation characterized the British proposal then as "a Christmas pudding with arsenic sauce."

In 1957, agreement was all but reached, with Britain controlling only external defense but, as the **Christian Science Monitor** said (May 29, 1958), "at the 59th minute of the 11th hour" Britain introduced a proviso barring persons "known to have been engaged in subversion" as candidates in the island's first elections. Universal protest in Singapore forced the withdrawal of this clause in 1958 and a Constitution was agreed on.

LANDSLIDE VICTORY: The major contestants in the May 30 elections were the ruling anti-Communist and pro-Western People's Alliance Party, led by Lim Yew Hock, and the People's Action Party, a coalition of left-wing groups led by Lee Kuan Yew. (The Communist party was outlawed in 1948.) Voting was compulsory and 90% of the electors showed up at the polls.

It came as no surprise when the Action Party scored a landslide victory, winning 43 of the 51 Legislative Assembly seats. The Alliance won four seats. The Action Party plugged a five year economic development plan. It refused to red-bait, declared itself socialist and non-Communist.

Lee told a pre-election rally that his party's policy was "not to use a big stick or a gun" against the Communist Party which should be declared legal "as an exercise in democracy." A "double first" in law at Cambridge, 36-year-old Lee went to the 1957 London conference with Lim's five-man all-party delegation.

BRITAIN'S POWERS: Gov. Sir William Goode was obliged to invite the Action Party to form a government with Lee as Prime Minister. They refused, however, until Goode on June 4 released eight Action leaders jailed in 1957 without trial as "subversives."

The Lee government took office on June 5, but not to rule a fully independent state. Britain maintained control over the island's defense and foreign affairs, and the right to suspend the Constitution and impose martial law at its own discretion. Yet the elections marked a great stride forward for the people of Singapore. It brought into being a government backed by an overwhelming majority. It also demonstrated once again that people may voluntarily choose in a free election a party advocating socialism. The London **Times** noted (June 1): "The people of Singapore wanted the People's Action Party and they have resoundingly got it. Apathy, that common excuse for a left-wing victory, will not serve here."

THE PROBLEMS AHEAD: Thus after 140 years of British rule Singapore became semi-independent, but it was beset with many problems. The Action Party stands for neutrality, but Britain insists on maintaining the island as its major Far Eastern military and intelligence base. Its basic problems, however, are economic and geographical.

Of Singapore's 1,500,000 population (1,100,000 Chinese, 200,000 Malayans, 125,000 Indians, and smaller numbers of Pakistanis, Ceylonese and Europeans), 50,000 are unemployed. The government has an industrialization plan but it can only be applied to light industries, for the 220-square-mile island has no natural resources.

Aside from its military aspect, it has been one of the world's leading clearing houses for export and import, insurance, banking and merchandise distribution.

THE MALAY FEDERATION: Singapore is really a part of Malaya, separated by the mile-wide Strait of Johore, and linked to the mainland by a causeway. Its economic future hinges on its joining the Malay Federation, rich in natural resources. Its port facilities will have less and less significance as independent Asian countries become industrialized and trade directly with one another.

The Action platform called for negotiations to join the Malay Federation. But since Malaya became free in 1957, its conservative government, with its feudal enclaves, has been veering closer to the U.S. and looks with suspicion at the socialist Action Party.

Malaya's major exports — rubber and tin—are still controlled by the British. The Federation government is trying to lure American capital with fabulous tax concessions. Last month it signed an agreement with the U.S. under the Mutual Security Act. It has obtained a $10,000,000 loan to build harbor facilities at Port Swettenham, near the capital of Kuala Lampur, to reduce its dependence on Singapore.

Since the Chinese number 3,000,000 in Malaya's population of 6,000,000, the government is cool to the idea of taking in 1,100,000 more Chinese, mostly pro-Peking.

THE MONEY MOVES: Even before the Action victory, Malaya's inviting economic concessions and climate and new harbor facilities started an exodus of vastly wealthy British and U.S. business from Singapore to the mainland. Since January, 103 firms incorporated in Singapore with capital totaling $67,000,000 have partially or completely transferred their offices and assets.

Those who cannot uproot whole plants, such as the Singapore subsidiary of Union Carbide Corp., plan to build in Malaya. The Bank of America and First National City Bank have opened branches in Kuala Lampur. The **Wall Street Journal** (June 3) reported rumors that "substantial amounts of liquid funds were transferred out of Singapore" the day after the Action Party victory. The island's chief newspaper, the **Straits Times**, a violent Action critic, moved its editorial office to Kuala Lampur.

CAUTIOUS APPROACH: Singapore's new administration seemed to be moving cautiously. It announced it would not press for Britain's military withdrawal until it saw the possibility of joining Malaya. It is promoting local production of such items as cigarets, toothpaste, electric bulbs, candy and paint for the first time, and levying tariffs on imports of these items.

There will be many conflicts before Singapore is truly free with a viable economy as part of the Malaya Federation. Even then, Malaya as a whole will have internal harmony only when feudalism is eliminated, British and Australian troops depart for good and a multi-national society with linguistic and cultural autonomy is established.

How do you say 'E pluribus unum' in Russian?

AT A MEETING of the Southern Conference Educational Fund at the Hotel Delmonico in New York, May 27, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt told this story of her recent visit to the Soviet Union:

She noticed, she said, that just about the only news the Soviet press carried about the U.S. was on Little Rock, where a new crisis threatened at the time of her visit. Annoyed by this concentration, she brought it up at an interview with Premier Khrushchev. There were 48 states in the U.S., she reminded him, and the Soviet press carried news of only one, and inferentially about other Southern states. Surely, she said, there were some good things going on in the U.S.

Khrushchev replied: "But these states are the United States, are they not? In the Soviet Union we have 32 republics and they are the U.S.S.R.."

Mrs. Roosevelt said she had no reply.

THE ANTI-DOGMA CONGRESS

Soviet writers call for radical changes

By **Wilfred Burchett**
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

FOR FIVE DAYS last month, Soviet writers met in the Kremlin and discussed their problems. Their use of the hall where the Supreme Soviet meets shows the importance the Soviet government and Communist Party attached to this Third Congress of Soviet Writers. Eighty-eight speeches were made, but the liveliest, the most important and most hopeful came from a non-literary figure, Nikita Khrushchev.

It all started on a dull enough note with an uninspired and uninspiring report on "The Tasks of Soviet Literature in Communist Construction" by Alexei Surkov, Secretary of the Soviet Writers Union. The Congress later elected Konstantin Fedin to the post. Surkov said little that was new, skimmed very lightly over the troubles which have beset Soviet writers since the Communist Party's 20th Congress and mainly exhorted writers to extol the virtues of the "positive hero" in the advance to Communism.

Apparently it was not all Surkov's fault that it was so dull. The report was a collective effort. The poet Alexander Tvardovsky, explaining his remark about "the homage still being paid to the inertia of yesterday's existence," said he was referring mainly to Surkov's report. "In all honesty, I cannot blame Alexei Surkov alone," he said amidst much laughter, "since this document was prepared by the method to which Gleb Uspensky's muzhik objected—the one who said it was impossible for one letter to be written by the whole village."

If Surkov avoided the main problems, Nikita Khrushchev had no inhibitions at all about plunging straight into them and calling spades "spades." Of which more later.

NO WITCH-HUNT: Speculation in the West that the Congress would turn into some sort of witch-hunt against Boris Pasternak proved unfounded. To the best of my knowledge his name was mentioned only once, and extremely briefly, during the five days' session. This was by Surkov, who referred to "ideological armor bearers of the cold war . . . who organized a hue and cry around the expulsion of Pasternak for his treacherous behavior unworthy of a Soviet writer."

Pasternak is written off by writers with whom I spoke less harshly than that—as a rather naive eccentric who belongs to another century. (Incidentally, his name is on bill-boards all over Moscow these days as translator of a revival of Schiller's **Mary Stuart** at the famous Moscow Art Theater.)

There was much heart-searching about themes and treatment suitable to match the Seven-Year Plan and Soviet society's rapid advance towards communism—and of how and where the "positive hero" is to be found and how to handle him. There was a general condemnation of sugary, happy-ending works and those which avoided the real problems of life as it is today—and sought to present it as it should be tomorrow.

One of the most interesting contributions was made not at the Congress, but in an article in the Writers League journal, **Literaturnaya Gazeta.** It was by the excellent short story writer and novelist, Konstantin Paustovsky, whose asthma probably prevented him making a speech.

LITERARY TOURISTS: He castigated those writers "who, so to speak, study the life of the people, . . . ask about their affairs, . . . strike up an amateurish and tourist-like acquaintance with the people to gather suitable writing material. One must live with the people," he continued. "One must cry at their sorrows and rejoice at their happinesses. One must be tied inseparably with the people as our contemporaries Gorky, Prishvin, Malyshin and Alexei Tolstoy were, and as Sholokhov is." (Sholokhov disdains to live in cities and can rarely be torn away from his beloved village among the Don Cossaks. He completed a trip abroad the day before the Congress opened and went straight back to Veshenskaya on the Don without appearing at the Congress.)

Paustovsky took a crack at the various "isms" which have cropped up to describe literary styles. "But surrealism, Dadaism and other 'isms' are, properly speaking, quite normal for the cockiness of youth," he said, making a plea for tolerance. "There is no need to sound the tocsin and to be noisily panic-stricken. This youthful cockiness is useful. It prevents the elder generation from waxing fat and thinking themselves infallible and untouchable."

He attacked what he said had become a tradition of making deep apologetic bows when writing about shortcomings in Soviet life, and "a second harmful tradition of reluctance to write of suffering. The fear of even alluding to sadness, as if all our life must go on under a sky of sweets and sugar to the accompaniment of the false-hearty laughter of 'militant' males and females."

STRONG TALK: Paustovsky, like a number of other writers—not to mention Khrushchev—made a plea to end the feuds and back-biting among the writers that has been going on ever since the 20th Congress. "Will our Congress help the writer to achieve that free and bold scope necessary for creativity? Or will it engage in petty tutelage and old quarrels? In the latter case, it will do no good. We must, at long last, stop calling friends enemies only because they tell the unpleasant truth, are not hypocritical, and while being selflessly devoted to their people and their country, do not demand the monopoly of this devotion or any reward for it.

"Two paths face the Congress. One is the noble road of consolidation; the other—the destructive road of disagreement." What Paustovsky and the others were referring to becomes clearer in the extracts from Khrushchev's speech.

The speeches in general were remarkably free from dogmas and labels. Tvardovsky's speech, the only one, incidentally, to be published in full by **Pravda,** contained not a single reference to socialist realism and he spoke out, like Paustovsky, against such labels. "When I have a book," said Tvardovsky, "which charms my soul and gives me the liveliest pleasure, broadening my knowledge of life through vivid imagery, I am least of all concerned about whether it is pure romanticism, or realism with a dash of romanticism or something else. I am merely grateful to the author for his fine gift." Tvardovsky was heartily applauded at this point. "Anyway," he continued in what would have been heresy not so long ago, "who objects to romanticism if it gives birth to splendid works of art, if it celebrates our era? Or to realism which with powerful conviction gives authentic pictures of real life? No one . . .

"Write as your conscience demands, as your knowledge of the given sector of life permits, and do not be afraid in advance of editors and critics . . ."

FOR TOLERANCE: That the ideas expressed by Paustovsky and Tvardovsky have the backing of Khrushchev was clear when the latter spoke on the closing day. Khrushchev above all appealed for tolerance and conciliation between the writers. He made shrewd appraisals of the "varnishers"—those who paint an over-rosy picture of Soviet life—the "blackeners" who do the opposite, of the "tommy-gunners" who went gunning for those who wandered on to the rocks of "revisionism" and of those who are now gunning for the "tommy-gunners." These are the various factions which sprang up in the confusion that followed the 20th Congress.

Khrushchev advised everybody to bury the past and forget labels and get on with their writing. He spoke at some length of Dudintsev, whose novel **Not By Bread Alone** was highly critical of Soviet society and was a sensation in the Soviet Union and abroad.

"Some of our ill-wishers abroad," said Khrushchev, "said it was all but the best work produced by Russian literature. Three years, however, have passed. Who is reading this book now, who needs it? Of course, not everything in it was badly put. I read this book and, should add, read it without the use of a pin." (Khrushchev had previously referred to books so dull that one had to keep sticking pins into oneself to keep awake.)

"There are some pages in it that merit attention. Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan, who read the novel before me, said: 'Read it. He has some points which sound as though he overheard you.' Yes, Dudintsev cleverly noticed some negative phenomena, but presented them in an exaggerated, deliberately generalized way. But I have said before and say now that Dudintsev has never been our enemy and has never been against the Soviet system."

FORGET AND FORGIVE: Khrushchev went on to make some remarks which would have seemed startling a year or so ago. ". . . Not only Dudintsev, but also other writers who approached the portrayal of the life of our socialist society from their own 'knee-high view' [an expression of Gorky's] quite evidently also wanted to help the Party, their people to surmount negative phenomena."

Writers who did this in a "distorted and exaggerated" form, continued Khrushchev, aroused the ire of others. A struggle developed "of quite a sharp nature which is still making itself felt in your midst." But he felt that the time had come to forget and forgive. "You may ask: What do I call for—the fanning of passions in struggle or for conciliation? My answer is—for the unity of forces on the basis of principle . . . There is a correct proverb. Don't hit a man when he is down. If in an ideological struggle the enemy surrenders, if he admits defeat and expresses readiness to take to right positions, don't wave him aside; understand him, give him a hand so he can take his place in your ranks and work with you . . . It is necessary to believe in man," said Khrushchev amidst stormy applause.

Much else of what he said was in similar vein, with homely, human illustrations. It was a speech free of dogmas or cliches or any attempt to lay down a literary line. I have studied it minutely without finding the term "socialist realism" for instance—which by no means indicates this is a discredited formula here, but stresses Khrushchev's interest in results rather than formulae.

AIR CLEARED: Khrushchev went out of his way to shift responsibility for guidance and what was printed from party and government shoulders on to those of authors and editors—carrying his long-overdue decentralization campaign in the economic and political sectors into the literary field as well.

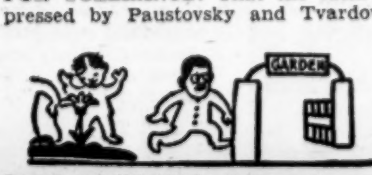
"I think there is hardly any need for me to go into an analysis of your works," he said. "I am no literary critic and so I don't feel myself obliged to analyze your works . . .

"You might say: criticize us, control us and if a work is erroneous, do not print it. But you know that it is not easy to tell off-hand what should and what should not be printed. The easiest way is to print nothing at all. Then there would be no mistakes and the man who forbade the printing of this or that would seem very wise. But that would be foolish. Therefore, comrades, do not burden the government with the solution of such matters; solve them yourselves and in a comradely way. As we see it, that will be criticism, real criticism. Literary criticism, if genuine, is above kith and kin, and its main concern should be the ideological and artistic merits of a literary work. This is how we should arrange matters."

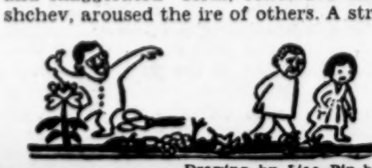
All in all, this Congress has done a great deal to clear the air among writers here and given them the green light to plunge ahead in a fresh outburst of creative activity.

NEW SOVIET WRITERS CONGRESS HEAD AND A FAN
Novelist Konstantin Fedin has a session with his grandson

The people like many flowers.



The dogmatist thinks they need . . .



Drawing by Liao Pin-hsung
. . . only one—the one he likes.

BOOKS

A science-fiction tale about ancient Africa

IVAN YEFREMOV, the author of the two science-fiction youth books introduced this week by the Guardian Buying Service (see p. 12) could himself be the subject of an ultra-exciting story for young people. Orphaned in the Civil War in Russia in his early teens, he became the protege of a Red Army regiment. In 1922, at 16, he passed examinations for college entrance, studied the sciences as the special charge of a 55-year-old Academician, and at 21 published his first scientific paper, on ancient amphibians.

In the years since, as a paleontologist, he has explored the farthest reaches of Soviet Asia, China, Mongolia and other regions of the Eurasian land mass in search of extinct animals.

In 1943 he began to write science for the young and science fiction. His writing demonstrates magnificent, sometimes almost eerie, powers of description of nature; and reflects a breadth of scholarship such as rarely enters into fictional writing today.

Stories*, a collection of nine adventures (reviewed in the GUARDIAN in 1957), ranges from the Tuscarora Deep, deepest part of the Pacific, to White Horn peak in the Himalayas, scaled before only by a knight in the days of the khans (the Soviet climber finds his sword!). It is richly illustrated with color drawings of the marvels found by the explorers who people the stories.

Illustration from The Land of Foam

Land of Foam, written in 1948-49, has recently been published in the U.S. by Houghton Mifflin at $3.50, and was enthusiastically reviewed in the N.Y. **Times** May 10. Its principal setting is ancient Africa, and one of the book's frequent footnotes at the page-bottoms traces the name of the continent to the Greek word **aphros**, foam, (hence also the **Greek** goddess Aphrodite, who in fable rose from the waves, literally "foam born."

A CURIOUS BLUE-GREEN cameo in the Leningrad Museum (a careful footnote says there is really no such stone there) bears the figure of a young girl apparently bidding farewell to three male figures, a Hellene, a Negro and a Mediterranean. Archaeologists have been unable to account for the contradictions in the sculpture: the stone is South African; only a diamond—which Greek sculptors did not have — could have carved it, yet the work is Hellenic. The strangely assorted males, the even stranger spears they carry, all add to the mystery.

A fadeout to ancient Greece begins to explain the mystery. A Greek youth, Pandion, trained as a warrior and apprenticed to a sculptor, leaves a lovely girl, Nessa, on an Aegean strand to go off to Crete to study the master sculptors. On his errant journey he is captured by Egyptians and made a slave. The Nestor among the slaves is Cavius, an Etruscan; the strongest and most resourceful on African soil, a West African named Kidigo.

In payment for taking a rhinoceros alive beyond the Fifth Cataract of the Nile, a company of slaves, including the three, are freed—in the depths of the African jungle. Thence starts the long trek westward to Kidigo's country and the ocean where the Sons of the Wind, Mediterranean sailors venturing down the Atlantic coast of Africa, may take Pandion and the Etruscan home.

DURING THE LONG wait at the end of the adventure-filled journey across Africa, Pandion carves the cameo on a stone of beryl, with diamond chips for chisels, immortalizing the comradeship of the three slaves and adding a composite of Nessa and the young women of Africa encountered on the journey. It becomes a gift to the Etruscan when they part, and so starts on its way through nearly 3,000 years to its fictional showcase in Leningrad.

Illustration from The Land of Foam

Land of Foam could be a movie producer's dream story, complete with exhaustive research on the locales, three valiant heroes in breech cloths, a swift-moving story with a sweep of two continents, fierce struggle with jungle animals and haughty despots, and beautiful women at every stop on the safari.

See p. 12 for details of how you can get a triple-feature preview.

—**John T. McManus**

**STORIES and LAND OF FOAM, by Ivan Yefremov. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. 340 pp. & 260 pp. respectively. Both books, together with a free copy of A. Sternfeld's 59-pp. booklet, Interplanetary Space Travel: $2.95 postpaid through Guardian Buying Service, 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9.*

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"DROP THE BOMB!"

A reporter's call to arms

FOR NEARLY HALF a century Edgar Ansel Mowrer, newspaperman and author, has covered the world and put his experiences and opinions in writing. In his latest book, **A Good Time to be Alive,*** he seems determined to destroy in the autumn of his life any reputation he has built up as a liberal thinker and objective journalist.

The title is misleading. It makes the reader look to the book for a hopeful report on those current events that perhaps presage an era of peace and prosperity: hundreds of millions of people freeing themselves from colonial bondage and making mighty efforts for their betterment; the worldwide search for equality and cooperation among nations; the growing sentiment for settling conflicts through negotiations, for finding ways to peaceful competition among differing social systems. This is not what the reader finds.

HE FINDS INSTEAD a view of the world colored by Mowrer's hatred of socialism, the Soviet Union and China. This has led the author to distort the ideas of many leaders of the newly-freed peoples. He writes, for example, that India's Premier Nehru "would rather see India conquered by Chinese than saved by Americans."

Mowrer believes not in equality but in an elite, and presents the U.S. as "the potential leader" of the world. He says: "Of all the earth's peoples we may be the most fitted for such a role, once we consent to accept it." It matters not to him whether others want it so.

HE REGRETS that Americans have lost the martial spirit; otherwise, he says, they would have fought to keep Chiang Kai-shek in power over all China and to keep France or Ngo Dinh Diem in power over all of Vietnam. He makes a fervent plea for the revival of the good old fighting spirit so that America "can, when necessary, drop an A-bomb, regretfully but without remorse."

Mowrer cites with approval U.S. intervention "with our national power in Greece, Guatemala, the Formosa Strait, Lebanon and Berlin." He recommends similar action "on a broad scale," including "limited military offensive" and all possible assistance for "the liberation of Communism's captive peoples." He even advocates "expelling . . . Red Russia from the United Nations."

With the skill of an experienced journalist Mowrer tries to make all this palatable. Despite his efforts, however, the book demonstrates that travel and advanced years do not necessarily broaden the mind nor bring wisdom in their wake.

—**Kumar Goshal**

**A GOOD TIME TO BE ALIVE, by Edgar Ansel Mowrer. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, N.Y. 179 pp., $3.50.*

Novelist John Pen dies at 57

JOHN SZEKELY, who under the name of John Pen wrote the novel **Temptation**, died recently in East Berlin at 57.

Temptation, published in this country by Creative Age Press in 1946 and also in several European countries, was widely acclaimed as a social novel of extraordinary power that laid bare the corruption of the Hungarian ruling classes under the Horthy dictatorship and their oppression of the people. Its author was compared to Gorky, Zola, Anatole France and Nexo.

Temptation later became a Liberty Book Club selection and sold more than 200,000 copies in a pocketbook edition issued by Avon. An earlier novel, **You Can't Do That to Svoboda**, published in 1943 by Dial Press, dealt with a Czech town under Nazi occupation.

IN 1919 John Szekely left his native Hungary when Admiral Horthy, backed by the Allied powers, marched in. He went to Germany where he became prominent as a film writer; more than 40 of his scripts were produced in Germany, England, France and Italy. Forced to flee the Hitler dictatorship in 1933, Szekely came to Hollywood where he collaborated with Ernst Lubitsch in **Desire**. Under various noms de plume he wrote many successful movies, receiving the Academy award in 1941 for the anti-fascist film, **Arise, My Love**.

Szekely spent 1950-55 in Mexico where he wrote a novel as yet unpublished. On returning to New York, where he had lived for several years, he found himself blacklisted despite the fact that he had never engaged in political activity. He went back to Berlin with his wife and their American-born daughter and resumed writing for the movies. A week after his death his film, **Geschwader Fledermaus (Squadron Bat)**, an indictment of U.S. war profiteers, opened in Berlin.

Aleichem Sholem: A dissertation on tight money

DO YOU KNOW why money is like a collar? I won't keep you in suspense. Because when it's tight, it chokes. You think Sholem Aleichem wrote this? Look again at the signature on this letter. The name is Aleichem Sholem. Everybody knows Sholem Aleichem, the writer. But who knows Aleichem Sholem, the bookkeeper for **Jewish Currents**? Only my creditors, it seems. And sometimes I feel I'd be happier if they didn't. Not that I have anything against creditors you understand. They have to live too. But why at my expense? They call me up on the phone and their voices are like honey: "Aleichem Sholem. So where's the money for the December 1958 issue?"

"Soon, soon."

"You said that last month."

And this and that and that and this, until I want to tear the telephone out of the wall. Instead, I figured I'd write you and tell you my **tzuris** [troubles]—as if you don't have enough of your own. To tell you the truth—my **tzuris** aren't a bad kind to have at all. **Jewish Currents** had a fine year last year—and this year looks even better. More subscribers came in . . . old subscribers re-joined . . . and this year as of June 1 we have raised $4,000 toward our $8,000 fund drive and got 148 new subscriptions.

But the faster you grow, the smaller become your old clothes—and this is why my collar is too tight. We need money to print more copies . . . money to advertise and promote . . . money to speak out more firmly for an end to the danger of war, money to . . . But why go on? We need money to do a better job for you—and who else should we ask but you?

Look. If you saw me in the street with bundles in my hand and I asked you: "Please. Can you loosen my collar a little bit? I can't breathe"—wouldn't you put in a finger and help me breathe a little? A finger I don't ask you to put in—but a hand into your pocket to take out a wallet or a checkbook, this would be a mitzvah [good deed] for you to do. If you could send $50, $25, even $10 or $5—what a deep breath **Jewish Currents** could take!

—**Aleichem Sholem**

P.S. May I add two words to Aleichem Sholem's letter? Please hurry! The magazine must have $4,000 more within a month. Mail your contribution to Dept. G., Jewish Currents, 22 E. 17th St., New York 3, N.Y.

—**Morris U. Schappes, Editor**

Steel talks stalled

(Continued from Page 1)

want a "larger view." They say that wage increases will be "inflationary" for the economy. Price increases, they say, must follow wage rises and this will place American companies at a disadvantage with foreign competitors. American steel worker wages, they say, are the highest in the country. They have offered a one-year freeze on wages and elimination of a clause for cost-of-living adjustments. To date they have not moved from this offer. Union president David J. McDonald has threatened to file "unfair collective bargaining" charges.

But to B. J. Widick, a labor writer, both sides were reading from a script. In the **Nation** (May 9) he wrote: "In reality, all talks between the steel union and the industry since last fall had as their ultimate goal a package approximately 10c an hour for the union, with the industry planning to raise prices about $4 a ton." Because of the publicity given to the negotiations, both sides have had to resort to histrionics. Widick thought the last act called for a short strike.

UNWORRIED: Others are also betting on a strike. Steel users are stockpiling at a record rate against a strike and a future price increase. At present steel mills are producing at better than 94% of capacity.

The prospect of a strike did not frighten **Fortune** editors. In an editorial they wrote: "A steel strike this summer would be no national disaster unless it dragged for many weeks. The industry and its customers are well prepared: the economy probably would not feel a shortage of steel for at least two months."

Others pointed out that if there were no strike, the industry would have to resort to mass layoffs.

Herblock, Washington Post

"Very good, Sir—you have just time to change for the wage negotiation conference."

It will take an Academy Award performance this year for the industry to convince the nation it needs a price increase, even if it grants all the union asks. Since World War II manufacturers have increased the price of steel $3 for every $1 wage increase. With each price rise the industry pleaded increased labor costs. Since signing the present contract in 1956, granting 20c an hour wage increases every year for three years, manufacturers have increased steel prices $24.50 per ton.

RECORD PROFITS: During this period the industry has modernized and expanded production facilities and enjoyed increased productivity per worker. This has led to a point where the companies are showing profits so high, they seem reluctant to disclose them publicly. For the first quarter of 1959, U.S. Steel declared earnings of $106,500,000, or $1.86 profit per stock share. This was a 70% increase over the same period last year. But economist Eugene Havas in the **Nation** (June 6) said this was a "doctored report" which underestimated profits.

He said: "According to independent Wall Street analysts, U.S. Steel earned for the first quarter of this year . . . somewhere around $120,000,000, or above $2 per share."

Economist Fred Gardner told Congress U.S. Steel could reduce prices 10% and maintain profits higher than average for all other industries. During the recession year, 1958, the company operated at 60% of capacity and still made a record profit.

NO CONTROLS: Recession or prosperity, steel profits have soared because the industry is controlled by a handful of companies. They set prices and production as they see fit. "Free enterprise" administrations in Washington have made few attempts to control them. **Fortune** editors put the issue: "No one can agree on what has been happening since the recession. One possible clue is that steel profit margins have been improving. But who is to decide in a free society what a profit margin should be?"

Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.) thought the government ought to have a say. Following extensive hearings by the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, he introduced a bill which would require companies in "administered price" (monopoly) industries to file advance notification and justification with the Federal Trade Commission before raising prices.

Steel union president McDonald opposed the bill because he said "it would soon involve the government in the process of free collective bargaining."

THE UNION'S SIDE: McDonald needs to feel "free" to deliver a big package this year to still an insurgent group which arose in 1957 to challenge his union leadership. With a nod to the Presidential appeal for "statesmanship," he called the industry's cry of inflation "phony." He pointed out that managerial wages, bonuses and pensions in addition to stock equities and dividends have soared, but management does not propose to freeze them. He said steel imports exceeded exports for the first time this year because American companies were too busy to fill all orders. He added: "Perhaps foreign firms are satisfied with more modest profits."

On June 1 British steel companies cut prices 2% because of a slump in sales. In the U.S., in 1957-58, when mills were operating at 48% of capacity, American companies raised prices 3%.

THE DISPLACED WORKER: While immediate increases are the major concern of the union at the current talks, there are trends in the industry that present potential dangers for the steel worker. Improved technology has already replaced 100,000 workers and further unemployment seems likely. At the Jones & Laughlin plant in Aliquippa, Pa., high grade steel is produced in 37 minutes through a basic oxygen process where it used to take nine to ten hours by the open hearth method.

Fortune says: "It may not be long before steel is made by direct reduction, with natural gas, which eliminates the need for coal and much of the labor now employed in furnace tending."

The ghost at the negotiating table is a robot; he works hard, produces much, does not ask for wage increases and never joins a union. Neither government, industry nor labor seems concerned about the men he replaces. But somebody had better start worrying soon.

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Adenauer decision

(Continued from Page 1)

majority was said to be ready to denounce Adenauer's about-face; some even proposed to dethrone him on a vote of "no confidence." After three hours of bitter wrangling, Adenauer emerged victorious, with the unanimous backing of the party.

MAN OF DESTINY: Reaction to Adenauer's action was uniformly hostile. Almost all the West German and British

Horizons, Paris

press accused him of destroying West German democracy. The CBS correspondent in Bonn reported (June 7) that most Christian Democrats felt Adenauer had forced them to "kneel in submission" and many were saying he reminded them of another German who had said "he alone could rule Germany." In the U.S., the **Christian Science Monitor** (June 5) said "Adenauer shows no regard for parliamentary democratic procedures and seeks to exert his own will."

Adenauer's arrogant explanation was that, if the Geneva conference succeeded and a summit meeting followed, his "guidance would then be needed"; if Geneva and the summit failed, and the world situation deteriorated, his "presence would be required." It was in the interest of the German people "if I continue to direct the present line of German policy."

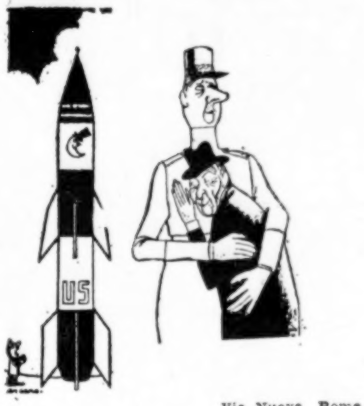
BEHIND THE EYEBALL: To most observers there was far more to Adenauer's action than met the eye:

- He was furious over his party's choice of the more independent-minded Vice Chancellor and Economy Minister, Ludwig Erhard, to suceeed him as chancellor. Erhard favors wider European economic cooperation than the restricting Common Market—supported by Adenauer—and has fewer qualms about East-West negotiations.

It was hardly a coincidence that Adenauer announced his decision at the very moment Erhard was calling on President Eisenhower in Washington. On June 7 Erhard said that Adenauer's action was not in the interest of West Germany and displayed bad political habits on the nation's part. He was visibly upset by Adenauer's move.

- Adenauer's visit to Washington for the Dulles funeral apparently convinced him that he must remain as chancellor to carry on Dulles' policies, which he enthusiastically endorsed, to help prop up President Eisenhower at a summit meeting.

- He has stressed German reunification on his own terms, largely to prevent the opposition Social Democrats from capitalizing on this issue. He was not anxious to see Germany united until he had extracted every ounce of concession from the West to create a West German spearhead against the Soviet Union. With U.S. support and without Britain's interference, he has been persistently tapping French and Belgian resources in Africa while avoiding the opprobrium of colonialism. A relaxation of world tension, through East-West negotiations, could loosen French and Belgian control —and German profits—in Africa.



Vie Nuove, Rome

- His about-face was largely motivated by a fear that the Geneva conferences would succeed, at least to the extent of leading to the summit. Since at a summit meeting he would have no assurance of direct and equal participation, he could be expected to exert every pressure to keep the Western position in Geneva inflexible.

IT HAS TO BE: In Geneva, meanwhile, there was a growing feeling that a summit meeting would be needed more than ever. British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs David Ormsby-Gore said on June 7 that the test ban talks had reached their "last lap" and final agreement would require a decision at the summit. In the U.S., Sens. Fulbright (D-Ark.) and Humphrey (D-Minn.) said the same day that no matter what happened at Geneva, a top-level conference would be worthwhile and would be held.

STRONG RESOLUTIONS

Methodist Federation meets in St. Louis

THE METHODIST FEDERATION for Social Action, during a 3-day annual meeting over the Memorial Day weekend in St. Louis, took the following actions:

- Commended the National Council of Churches study conference for backing recognition of the People's Republic of China and called for recognition and admission of China to the UN.
- Urged that Quemoy and Matsu be restored to China; all foreign troops withdrawn from Korea; a neutralized, demilitarized and denuclearized Germany.
- Called for abolition of nuclear weapons by all nations; liquidation of the arms race and use of funds saved for UN aid to underdeveloped countries.
- Urged support for Supreme Court civil liberties decisions and defeat of legislation aimed at nullifying such decisions; called for abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.
- Demanded that treason and sedition charges against John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman be dropped; that Immigration Dept. proceedings against William Heikkila, David Hyun and all other political Walter-McCarran victims be dismissed; and the law revised to halt further victimizations.
- Called for full integration in the Methodist Church.
- Elected Dr. Loyd Worley, Hartford, Conn., to his seventh term as MFSA president; re-elected Rev. Jack McMichael of Pasadena as editor of the organization's **Social Questions Bulletin**; elected Rev. Lee Ball, Maybrook, N.Y., acting executive secretary.

Further details of the meeting may be obtained from the Federation's national office, P.O. Box 327, Gresham, Ore.

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CALENDAR

CHICAGO

JOE POLOWSKY reports on Elbe Vets' visit to USSR, meetings with Khrushchev, Mikoyan. Fri., June 19, 8:30 p.m., Baskers' 5010 Jarlath, Skokie. Cont. $1. Refreshments.

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5th ANNUAL CONCERT—American Jewish Choral Society, Morris Browda, Conductor. Sat., June 27, 8:30 p.m., Assistance League Playhouse, 1637 N. St. Andrews Place. **Adm: $1.65, tax incl.**

"REPORT ON CHINA" by Richard Gorden, exPOW, just returned. Fri., June 19, 8:15 p.m. Friday Night Forum, 1702 E. 4 St. Don: 75c.

SAN FRANCISCO

RECEPTION FOR GEORGE MORRIS, Labor analyst & writer. Questions & answers on his recent tour of factories and farms in Socialist Europe. Refreshments. Sun., June 28, 2 to 5 p.m. at People's World, 81 Clementina St. Admission 50c.

"PEACE AT THE SUMMIT"
A report from Moscow, Berlin and Bucharest by Professor HOLLAND ROBERTS, just returned from 4 months in Germany, Rumania and the Soviet Union. Friday June 19th 8 p.m.
150 Golden Gate Av., San Francisco
Auspices: American Russian Institute

PHILADELPHIA

CONRAD LYNN discusses Mississippi lynching of Mack Parker & reports on trial of Robert Williams of NAACP, Sat., June 20, 8:30 p.m. Essex Hotel, 13 & Filbert St. Ausp: Philadelphia Friends of The Guardian.

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"SHOULD WE FIGHT BACK?"
CONRAD LYNN, atty. Monroe, N.C. "Kiss Case," discusses formation of Negro self-defense guards vs. lynching. Young Soc. Alliance Forum, 45 E. 7 St., SAT., JUNE 13, 8:30 P.M.

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See Page 12

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.
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CLASSIFIED

GENERAL

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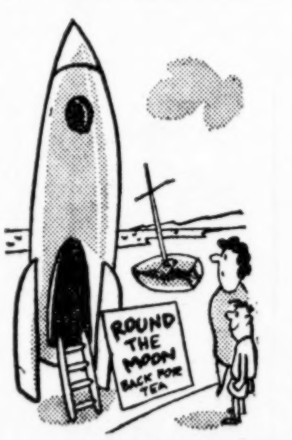

Eccles, London Daily Worker

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THE GALLERY

FROM LONDON "EVENING STANDARD": "Lady Rotherwick, good-looking blonde wife of shipowner Lord Rotherwick, 46, went to a West End cinema one night this week. While watching the film, she became aware of several bites on the back of her neck. Next day Lady Rotherwick telephoned the cinema manager. She also called on him to show him the bites. He considered it impossible for Lady Rotherwick to have been bitten in the cinema . . . Today the manager tells me: 'I think they were mosquito bites. The matter is now closed.' Lady Rotherwick makes no comment.' . . . Jean Baker, of Maidstone, England, complained to the Royal Air Force that its planes were buzzing her house while she reclined nude in her garden, sunbathing. "One plane was so low I could see the pilot grinning," she said. Mrs. Baker said she had her fill when others came over later in a helicopter . . . The Manchester **Guardian** reports from Kano, Nigeria: "Thousands of vultures, the scavengers of Kano, flapped away into the countryside today before the arrival of the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester. The city authorities, fearing the sight of the vultures along the city wall might upset the Duchess, dumped carrion outside the city to lure the birds away." . . . Palace officials in London are taking steps to protect Queen Elizabeth II from overwork. Henceforth, the Queen will cut out all week-end work, provincial tours will be limited to two days, the Queen will be allowed a minimum of one and one-half hours for lunch, and a maximum of 20 handshakes will be imposed at public functions . . . Rev. Edgar A. Willis, secretary-general of the British Tiddlywinks Assn., believes world tension would be relaxed if heads-of-state would take up the game. It is enjoying great popularity now in England and the Cambridge University team is champion. But they have been challenged by the RAF Bomber Command squad, whose motto is: "Squidge hard, squidge sure."

THE U.S. FREEDOMS FOUNDATION, of which President Eisenhower is honorary president, on May 15 presented its freedom leadership award to Chiang Kai-shek. He was cited for his "foresighted understanding of the dangers of communism before others became awakened." . . . Olympic champion figure skater Dick Button on returning from a tour of Moscow and Leningrad said he found the Russians "an incredibly warm people" whose "biggest fear" is that the U.S. wants war. He said the Soviet Union was "the kind of development and system that you can't have a proper perspective on without seeing it—it's phenomenal." . . . British surgeons are in Moscow teaching "hole-in-the-heart" surgery to the Russians and have invited Soviet doctors to Britain to demonstrate techniques in which they excel: joining and grafting arteries . . . Four years ago the U.S.S.R. imported two rhinoceroses; the female was placed in the Moscow zoo; the male in Leningrad. M. Solodukho, deputy director of the Moscow Zoological Center, in a letter to **Izvestia** complains of a piece of bureaucracy: "In the course of all these years the heads of these zoos cannot reach agreement who should transfer the animal to the other in order to receive an addition to the family."

—Robert E. Light

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the SPECTATOR

Holland remembers

AMSTERDAM

WHEN THE GERMANS left Holland after their defeat in 1945, they boasted: "We'll be coming back." In 1959 one gets the impression that the boast was justified. As tourists they have come back with a vengeance, crowding hotels, shops and restaurants, and almost every second car on the roads bears a German license-plate.

Yet, while a large part of Holland's present prosperity is based on this increasing influx of tourist marks, many of the Dutch, who remember the war years only too painfully, feel uneasy in the presence of their German guests. As a woman in Rotterdam whose husband spent years in Nazi concentration and slave labor camps said to me: "I am always wondering if they are here just to pick out the sites for their future bombing attacks."

ROTTERDAM—Coventry of the continent—had the worst of it, of course, and some of the scars are still visible, although most of its center has been reconstructed with a magnificence of architectural design and a generosity of town-planning that must be seen to be believed.

Beauty and efficiency are wonderfully blended and Rotterdam today is quite possibly the world's most exquisite modern city. But reminding Rotterdamers at what price their city obtained its New Look, there stands in the midst of it, overlooking the harbor, Zadkine's monument to "May 1940" when fire rained from the skies. It is the most impressive war memorial I have ever seen anywhere, the twisted figure of a human being trying to ward off the horror from above, the trunk of a dead tree his useless but only support in an overwhelming catastrophe. Zadkine paid tribute not only to Rotterdam's dead, but to suffering humanity everywhere.

THE ZADKINE MONUMENT

NINETEEN YEARS LATER, on a day in May, I saw Rotterdam bustling with activity as Europe's leading port, "a kind of suburb of the Ruhr," as one of her citizens said, for 80% of Rotterdam's trade is with West Germany. Again the Germans have made good their boast of coming back.

Only the pre-war waterfront quarter of bars and brothels—known to seamen from all parts of the globe—has not been restored. The entire section was buried in the rubble of the May, 1940, holocaust. A controversy still rages whether or not to rebuild it on its ancient site. Morality and hypocrisy are locked in battle with greed, for if Rotterdam is "clean" today, seamen dislike it, police are forced to comb the entire city instead of one well-defined quarter, business suffers from the lack of "fleecing centers."

If Rotterdam, with its world-wide shipping, accounts for a large part of Holland's present prosperity, the rest of the country seems no less well-off, even though its more than 11,000,000 people—the densest population rate in Europe—make for a continuous housing shortage, and its streets—with the exception of the magnificent autobahns—seem far too narrow to hold growing numbers of Cadillacs and Mercedes and other big cars. Prosperity is unfortunately geared to the lowest wages in Western Europe, with consumer goods and food running very high.

TURNING TO ART, one is more cheered. The Rijksmuseum here and the Mauritshuis in the Hague contain the largest collection of Rembrandts, van Dycks, Jan Steens, and a host of other Dutch masters. Many of the most precious paintings had been rolled up and buried in the sand dunes along the North Sea as the Germans approached in 1940, and have since been cleaned and fully restored, so that their luster seems greater than ever before. The van Gogh's in Amsterdam's Municipal Museum are dazzling.

But the picture which moved me most was the tiny Rembrandt engraving of the synagogue in the Jewish Museum, housed today on the upper floor of Amsterdam's Historical Museum, displaying the beautiful and ornate remnants of this once vast collection of one of the richest Jewish communities in Europe, reduced from its pre-war 100,000 to today's 12,000. The Museum also contains a full record of Nazi barbarities as well as a moving tribute to the Dutch who did their utmost to help the Jews.

For Amsterdam was the first city in Europe where the Nazis met with mass resistance, which took the form of a general strike in 1941 when they began to round up and deport Holland's Jewry. The population of Amsterdam risked firing squads to defend their Jewish brothers, and dozens if not hundreds were machine-gunned in the center of the city. Amsterdamers, despite their easy-going ways and their almost frantic pursuit of wealth, have not forgotten. Today the portrait of Anne Frank greets one from every bookstore here and serves as a constant reminder. The haunting face of a Jewish girl has almost become the symbol of the city.

—Ursula Wassermann